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REPORT



ON THE KU KLUX KLAN

ARNOLD FORSTER AND BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN

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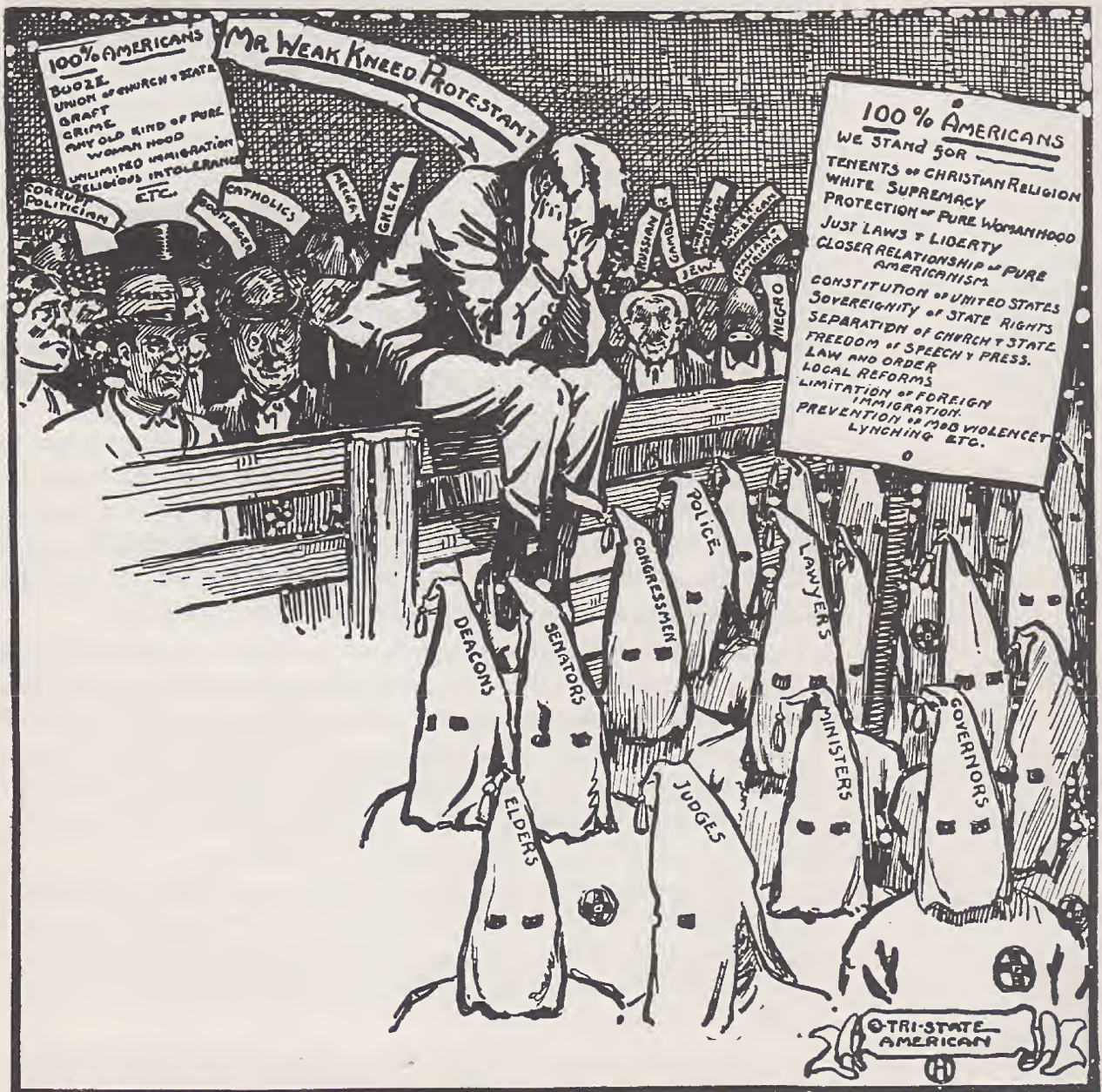
ON THE KU KLUX KLAN

BY ARNOLD FORSTER AND BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN

About the authors

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Cartoon from a Klan publication of the 1920's. (N. Y. Public Library)

Preface

The social phenomenon of an underground movement in a nation either occupied by a foreign power or under the heel of a despotic, domestic government is not new to the world. However, the Ku Klux Klan may be considered a native American underground—a genuinely subversive force in the United States which is completely alienated from the contemporary national thrust toward equality of opportunity and citizenship for all and which employs terror to achieve its ends. Klan activities take the posture of guerrilla race warfare directed against American citizens through murders, beatings, floggings and other terroristic methods. The primary aim is to preserve a way of life that is slowly dying.)

In the South today, the Klans have emerged as the hard-core of the die-hard resistance forces still at work. These forces are rooted, for the most part, in rural areas, small towns and crossroads hamlets. The gap is widening between these extremist elements, who embrace Klan preachments of defiance and violence, and those forces in urban areas where a trend toward compliance with the law is manifesting itself.

In this polarization of forces, the Klans carry the banner of terror as the only answer to the pressures imposed on the South by the forward march of history. (Whereas in recent years the issue in the South was mainly that of the white man and segregation versus the Negro and desegregation, an equally important issue revived by the Klans today is lawlessness versus law enforcement.)

It doesn't take many men to bomb a church, to flog a Negro or a white, or to commit other acts of violence in the dark of night. Two, three, four or six men, operating in secrecy and with stealth, can bring a reign of terror to any small Southern town and can bring violence and intimidation to cities and suburbs as well. The fact is that this has been happening in the South for years, and much of it has been perpetrated by hooded Klansmen and their henchmen.

The membership strength of the Klans operating in the South today, therefore, is not an accurate measure of the danger to law and order. Even if the Klans were half their present size, they would still be a threat to the well-being of the South itself as it passes through a difficult transitional period.

Another aspect of the Klan threat is the extent to which Southern officialdom has been infiltrated by Klansmen and their sympathizers. In too many Southern communities, maintenance of the status quo by any means is given precedence by such officials over the observance of law. The result is often a profound erosion of democratic government from borough to state capital.

The Klans' strategy and tactics are reflected in frightening statistics:

Item: Since 1959, a total of 43 individuals concerned with the civil rights movement in the South have been killed.

Item: Since 1955, approximately 1,000 instances of racial violence, reprisal and intimidation have been reported.

Item: From 1954 to early 1965, some 227 bombings were reported and 56 suspects were arrested; 33 were acquitted, 10 have been convicted and sentenced, another 10 received suspended sentences, and 3 await trial.

Under the relentless pressures of the civil rights movement, federal legislation and the federal courts, the Deep South is slowly but inexorably giving ground to desegregation and equal treatment under law for all citizens, regardless of color, but the entire liberating process has a long way to go before Negro citizens in the Deep South achieve their full legal rights, and in the Spring of 1965, it appears that, for some years to come, there will continue to be a gap between the rights Negroes achieve by law and the rights they actually hold.

Nor has the last chapter in the long history of the Klans in America been written. But it is beginning to be clear that progress toward equality of opportunity for Southern Negroes will continue, and it has long been clear that the overwhelming majority of white Southerners reject the Klans and prefer the rule of law even when they disagree with the legislation.

As the South changes and the equality of Negroes under law becomes the settled fact, it is likely that the Klans will wither and disappear. But that day is still far off.

DORE SCHARY

Chairman, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

In a desperate effort to halt the gradual progress of racial desegregation in the South, the Ku Klux Klan and its allies have been responsible for a major portion of the violence, killings, bombings, and other acts of intimidation seen in recent years.

The Klans provide the organizational framework and the emotional stimulus necessary to incite Klansmen and non-member followers to acts of violence and terror, while their leaders need not necessarily order or involve themselves in the actual incidents. On their own, Klansmen and their sympathizers translate the Klans' inflammatory incitements into action. The watchword of the Klans is "Fight!" and their tools are the shotgun, the rifle, the pistol, the bull-whip, the gasoline-soaked rag, and the cluster of dynamite sticks.

In their growing strength, and in their fanatical dedication to the waging of race war, Klansmen and their followers are arming themselves heavily. Gun dealers are doing a brisk business, and advertisements in gun journals across the country reflect a short supply of small arms. The hooded empire's security guards—they sometimes wear storm-troop type uniforms of gray, paratrooper boots and Army-style helmets—carry no weapons in public, but they make no secret of the fact that they often have them on hand in their cars. These guards keep outsiders at arm's length, and try to keep Klansmen themselves "in line."

Other special cadres, operating not quite as openly as the security guards, often have more ominous missions. In Georgia, for instance, one Klan numbered in its midst a group of "enforcers" known as the "Secret Six." In the Spring of 1964, Morris Abram, an attorney prominent in Jewish affairs, Vice-Mayor Sam Massell of Atlanta, and a Southern white clergyman—each well known as an opponent of the Klans and a defender of the rights of Negroes—were marked for assassination by the Secret Six. The F.B.I. was alerted and the plot was never carried out. In February, 1965, another Klan-type secret squad met covertly at a headquarters of the Invisible Empire in Georgia to plan the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Word of the plot to kill the leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference leaked out, and the FBI and other law enforcement authorities threw a heavy guard around him.)

A Klan Upswing

The Klans' violent activities have helped attract significant new membership and support during the last six months. As a result, the hooded orders are in the midst of one of the periodic upswings on the fluctuating graph of their strength in recent years. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the White Citizens Councils, whose weapon was economic pressure, spearheaded Southern resistance to the



Today, the Klans have replaced the declining Councils as the symbol and the instrument of last-ditch resistance. (Wide World—both)

imperatives of desegregation. Today, the Klans have replaced the declining Councils as the symbol and the instrument of last-ditch resistance.

The provable hard-core of Klan membership is estimated at 10,000. But the Invisible Empire includes an additional 25,000 to 35,000 like-minded racists who belong to an assortment of Klan-type groups or "gun clubs," plus others who, without any formal Klan affiliation, stand ready to do its work of terror.

Despite this flurry of growth, the Klans are today a divided movement ruled by competing promoters of racism. A common bond, and their real danger, is lawless violence.

The largest Klan group in the South today is the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., with headquarters in Tuscaloosa, Ala., and members and supporters in nine states. It is led by Robert Shelton, an energetic man in his mid-thirties, who has been an active Klansman for about a decade. The United Klans can probably count on active membership and sympathetic support from 26,000 to 33,000 adherents throughout the South. This support includes Klans directly affiliated with the United Klans and some semi-autonomous Klan groups in Alabama, Georgia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Florida, Louisiana, Texas and Virginia.

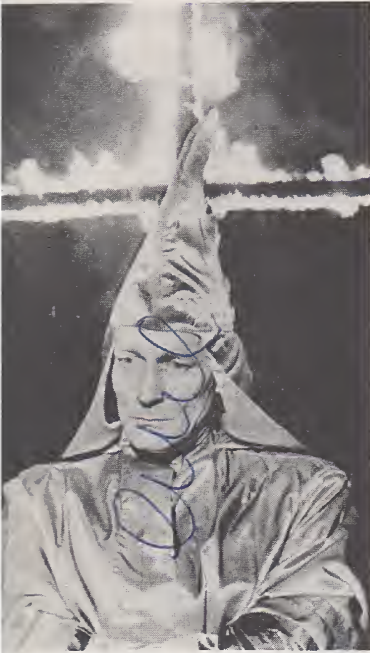
The United Klans' rival, not nearly as strong, is the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., with headquarters in Tucker, Ga., near Atlanta. It is headed by James Venable, an Atlanta attorney who has long been an extreme and active segregationist. The National Knights has the support of 7,000 to 9,000, mostly in Georgia, with some scattered strength elsewhere.

The present resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan began during 1963, and it can be linked to the climate brought about by a certain series of events—the drama of the civil rights movement in Alabama since the spring of that year, when the use of police dogs and fire hoses against civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham shocked the nation and attracted world-wide attention; that summer's proposal by the late President John F. Kennedy of broad civil rights legislation; the prolonged controversy over such legislation and the inflammatory propaganda against the bill disgorged by segregationist, Klan and Far Right organizations throughout the country.



... the use of police dogs and fire hoses ... in Birmingham shocked the nation and attracted world-wide attention ... (UPI)

The United Klans of America



Robert Shelton — Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. (UPI)

The main strength of Robert Shelton's United Klans is in his home state of Alabama, where he is assisted by Grand Dragon Robert Creel of Bessemer. Shelton's 10,000 to 12,000 supporters here reportedly are organized into at least 70 klaverns.

In Georgia, the United Klans are headed by Grand Dragon Calvin Craig of Atlanta and have some 39 klaverns, with an estimated overall strength of at least 7,000.

The United Klans in North Carolina, headed by Grand Dragon J. Robert Jones of Granite Quarry, boast some 42 klaverns in what is the best run state organization in Shelton's hooded order. There are some 8,000 to 9,000 men aligned with the organization which, hoping to attract still greater numbers, recently offered a special accident insurance policy to its members and started a fund to pay \$1,000 death benefits to widows of dead Klansmen.

In South Carolina, the Grand Dragon of the United Klans is Robert F. Scoggins of Spartanburg. This group, relatively inactive in the Winter of 1964-1965, claims 46 small klaverns—one in each county of the state—and an estimated strength of 1,500 to 2,500 supporters.

The militant Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in northern Louisiana is another United Klans affiliate. Shelton also claims the loyalties of a number of smaller Klan groups in several states which, however, retain a somewhat independent identity and have little influence. One of these, the Improved Order of U.S. Klans, headed by Earl E. George, has two small klaverns in Georgia, another in Ocala, Fla., and two in Alabama. The other, the Association of Georgia Klans, is headed by Charlie Maddox of Savannah and has two or three small klaverns there.

During the Klan resurgence of 1964, the United Klans of North Carolina sent organizers into Virginia under Shelton's direction and succeeded in setting up four klaverns, three in the Norfolk-Portsmouth area, and one at Petersburg. But these klaverns have shown little sign of activity, their total strength hovering between 100 and 300.

In Tennessee, the Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., headed for a number of years by Jack and Harry Leon Brown of Chattanooga, has associated both with Shelton's United Klans, and with its chief rival, James Venable's National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Thus guarding their autonomy more jealously than most other local KKK groups, the Brown brothers control one strong klavern in Anniston, Ala., and a few small ones in the northwest corner of Georgia, but their main strength is centered in Eastern Tennessee where they have perhaps 2,000 to 3,000 supporters. The United Klans, as such, has very little strength in Tennessee. There are, however, a few small klaverns directly identified with the Shelton organization, and Raymond Anderson of Maryville is its Grand Dragon in the state

where the Invisible Empire was first launched a century ago.

Texas has been singularly free of Klan activity in recent years, but in the Winter of 1964-65, the United Klans undertook an intensive recruitment campaign in the Dallas and Houston areas and scored some limited success.

In Florida, the United Florida Klan, Knights of the KKK, headed by Jason Kersey of New Smyrna Beach, is directly associated with the United Klans. In the last year or so, it has been the target of membership raids by other Klans and they have sapped its strength and influence. Superseding it is the Florida Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, run by Don Cothran of Jacksonville. Cothran's Klan is extremely radical, and it has attracted members at a rapid rate. In the early part of 1965 it was veering toward an affiliation with Shelton's United Klans. There were already signs, however, of a slowing-up of its growth as even more radical groups began luring its members into their ranks. From all indications, northern Florida appears to be a center of extreme and dangerous Klan-type activity.

James Venable, the Atlanta attorney who heads the National Knights of the KKK has long been identified in extreme racist activity. In recent years, he has been a leader of the Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, an anti-Negro and anti-Semitic group closely linked to the Christian Voters and Buyers League. In this activity, Venable has been associated with Wally Butterworth, a former radio personality who has recently devoted himself to recording hate speeches. Anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, anti-government record albums narrated by Butterworth are circulated throughout the nation's racist and anti-Semitic hate fringe, and are often used for Klan recruiting purposes.

Long rumored to have had KKK associations, Venable emerged as an open Klan leader in the early 1960s. Today, he is the main rival of the more powerful Shelton for the position as top leader over all Klans.

To promote his ambition, Venable has formed the Federation of Klans, a paper organization which purports to be the opposite number of Shelton's United Klans, but which is not nearly as strong as its rival.

Efforts to work out a merger agreement and other forms of cooperation between Shelton and Venable have been talked about, but the talks have come to nothing, each of the men being unwilling to concede the top position of Klan leadership to the other.

The focal point of the Venable Klan is Georgia, where it has some 4,500 supporters, more than half its national total. In addition,

The National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.



*James Venable -- Imperial
Wizard of the National
Knights of the Ku Klux
Klan, Inc. (Wide World)*

several smaller Georgia Klan groups are tied in with the National Knights, none of them having notable size or influence. These include the Federated Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., headed by William Hugh Morris of Buchanan; the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., now headed by H. L. Jones of Jonesboro; and the Association of Georgia Klans, which Charlie Maddox of Savannah runs, maintaining an affiliation with the Shelton United Klans as well as with Venable's group.

The "U.S. Klans," with one klavern and 200 followers from areas east and south of Atlanta, is extremely radical and weapons-conscious.

The Association of South Carolina Klans, a Venable affiliate headed by Robert Hodges of Columbia, vies with Robert Scoggins's more powerful Shelton affiliate in that state.

A new Knights of the Ku Klux Klan organization was recently formed in Ohio, and it has ties with Venable's Klan Federation. A charter was granted, then withdrawn, by the Ohio Secretary of State pending an investigation of the Klan's possibly subversive nature. With Flynn Harvey of Columbus serving as temporary Grand Dragon for Ohio, Klan groups have met in Columbus, in Cincinnati, and in at least one Cincinnati suburb.

Venable has even signed up new Klansmen from Canada. Recently, he contemplated a change in Klan rules that would permit foreign-born Americans to join the hooded knights—a departure from the "native-born" membership tradition.

Louisiana and Mississippi

A significant highlight of the Klans' 1964 gains was their emergence, for the first time since World War II, in Louisiana and Mississippi, traditional strongholds of the White Citizens Councils.

The Councils, dominant for more than a decade, had failed to prevent passage of the Civil Rights Bill, and the resulting disillusion of die-hard segregationists offered a fertile field for Klan recruitment. By early 1965, some 17 klaverns with an estimated strength of 1,000 had sprung up in Louisiana, some of them extremely militant and violent. There was growing evidence of Klan-type efforts at intimidation in smaller Louisiana towns and cities, notably in Bogalusa, a paper-mill town with a population of 25,000.

Mississippi was, in the summer of 1964, the focal point for a voter registration drive and related educational activities carried out by several civil rights organizations linked together as the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). As part of this activity, hundreds of civil rights workers, students and other volunteers, many of them

from the North, came into Mississippi, some of them remaining into the Winter of 1964.

The effort by COFO, like all other dramatic thrusts of the civil rights movement, provoked reaction. And in Mississippi, a major aspect of the reaction was the emergence of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, an independent organization linked with no other Klans, and viewed by law enforcement agencies as perhaps the most die-hard, well-organized and violent order yet to appear.

It numbers an estimated 3,000 supporters, operates on military lines, is extremely security-conscious, and believes that the only way to maintain White Supremacy is through violence and bloodshed. It boasts adherents and supporters in local law enforcement agencies, Civil Defense organizations, police auxiliaries, and even some segments of the Mississippi business community.

The order is headed by Sam Bowers of McGee, Miss., who argues that all who advocate moderation in racial matters are traitors to the White Race.

Since 1960, when today's Klans began to emerge in their present basic structure, there have been hundreds of bombings and beatings, and acts of arson, terror and intimidation. Many such crimes have been reported in the newspapers; others have not. Some of this violence has been traced directly to Klansmen. Some crimes have resulted in convictions; many have gone unsolved.

In some cases there are simply no witnesses to acts of violence, planned in secret and executed in the dark of night. Often those who may know the facts are reluctant to come forward, fearing reprisals. Others, intimidated by the existence of the Klans, their allies, and their henchmen, live in a grudging, enforced conspiracy of silence

A History of Terror



(UPI)

When the 16th Baptist Church in Birmingham was bombed in September, 1963 . . . four little Negro girls, attending Sunday School, were killed . . .

(Wide World)



Carol Denise McNair, 11



Carol Robertson, 14



Addie Mae Collins, 14



Cynthia Dianne Wesley, 14

with the members of the Invisible Empire. Still others approve such activities and would not betray the Klansmen under any circumstances.

Klan leaders like Shelton and Venable piously disavow violence and deny using it. Yet in their speeches, and in those of other Klan leaders, the very same sentences that contain the disavowals also contain incitements to extremist action.

In August, 1964, for instance, Robert Scoggins, Grand Dragon of the United Klans in South Carolina, addressed a large Klan rally near Salisbury attended by some 2,000 persons gathered near three burning crosses:

"We are not a violent order. But it is better to die for something than to live for nothing!"

There was thunderous applause.

A few years ago, James Venable of the National Knights shouted to an Atlanta Klan audience that the schools should be burned down if necessary to prevent them from being desegregated. And Robert Shelton has declared:

"We don't advocate violence. If someone steps on our toes we are going to knock their heads off their shoulders."

When the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham was bombed in September, 1963, and four little Negro girls, attending Sunday School, were killed, a Klan speaker in St. Augustine, Fla., told a crowd of Klansmen there:

"If they can find those fellows, they ought to put medals on them. It wasn't no shame they was killed. Why? Because when I go out to kill rattlesnakes, I don't make no difference between little rattlesnakes and big rattlesnakes . . . I say good for whoever planted the bomb."

A Call to Race Warfare

The Klansmen speak publicly of using "ballots and boycotts—not bullets"—but even their printed literature reflects a belief in race warfare as the only way to preserve White Supremacy. In the Summer of 1964, about the time the Civil Rights Bill was enacted, Klan recruiting posters in Jackson, Miss., declared:

"If we don't win in the next eight months, we're all destined for Communist slavery and our wives and daughters will be chattels in Mongolian and African brothels . . .

"Absolutely refuse to register or give up your arms . . .

"Stock up on rifles and shotguns and pistols, all of standard make, and lots of ammunition . . .

"Form an organization with next door neighbors but wear distinguishing marks, such as caps of the same color, so you won't

be firing at your own people . . .

"Be your own leader of your own household and make it an armed arsenal."

Such inflammatory advice, steeped in fear, was in keeping with traditions that are now a century old. The history of the Klans in the United States is an almost unvarying record of masked terror, night-riding, and violence.

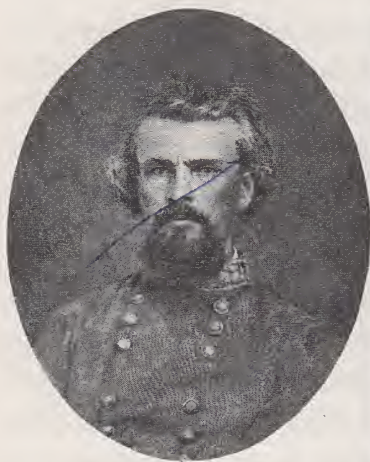


Two Klan Members—1868 (Culver)



. . . the Ku Klux Klan instituted a relentless reign of terror throughout all the states of the former Confederacy from 1867 to 1871. (Culver)

The First Klan



Nathan Bedford Forrest, former Confederate General and the first Klan Grand Wizard, ordered the Klan disbanded in 1869. (Culver)



D. W. Griffith's film, *THE BIRTH OF A NATION* (1915), added to the legend of the Invisible Empire. (Culver)

In the one hundred years since the close of the Civil War, America has experienced three distinct periods of activity on the part of the Ku Klux Klan.

The first of these occurred in the years of the Reconstruction. The original Klan was started on December 24, 1865, when a group of Confederate soldiers just out of uniform met in their home town of Pulaski, Tenn., to form a fraternal order shrouded in mystery and secrecy. From all indications, their secret society was, at the start, innocent and purely social in nature. It was not more than a matter of weeks, however, before the newly-organized group—deriving its name from the Greek “kyklos” (circle) to which was added an alliterative form of “clan”—began frightening local Negroes by parading in white sheets. It soon formulated the racist platforms on which the Klans have operated to this day.

Within a very short time the organization spread throughout the entire South, attracting thousands of bitter and violent men who feared the newly-freed Negro and despised the incoming Northern “carpetbagger.” At a large convention held in Nashville, Tenn., in April, 1867, the Klan declared: “Our Main and Fundamental Objective is the MAINTENANCE OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE WHITE RACE in this Republic.” By 1871, the hooded society had reached a membership of more than 550,000.

The Klan’s chief aim was to intimidate the Negro into absolute submission; to drive out the “carpetbaggers” and to destroy every vestige of Negro political power in the Southern states. In pursuing this goal, the Ku Klux Klan instituted a relentless reign of terror throughout all the states of the former Confederacy from 1867 until 1871.

In those four years of activity, the Klan helped to overthrow the state governments of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia, and played a major role in the suppression of the Negro and the reestablishment of White Supremacy throughout the South. In 1871, a Congressional committee conducted an extensive investigation of Klan violence and uncovered hangings, shootings, torturings, whippings, and mutilations in the thousands.

The commanding general of Federal troops in Texas, reported: “Murders of Negroes are so common as to render it impossible to keep accurate accounts of them.”

In Louisiana, testimony revealed at least 2,000 had been killed, wounded, or injured in a few weeks preceding the Presidential election of 1868. Seventy-five killings were reported in Georgia, and 109 in Alabama. One count showed that in a single county in northern Florida during a period of a few months, more than 150 men were murdered by Klansmen, at a rate of more than one killing a day.

The Klan Grand Wizard, former Confederate Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, ordered the Klan disbanded in 1869, but it was not until 1871, when outraged Northern public opinion forced the Con-

gressional investigation and Federal legislation, that the first Klan was finally destroyed.

Although the Klan had disappeared, a highly romanticized legend of its prowess lingered on, especially in rural areas of the South where its secret rites held a fascination for back-country whites.

Adding to the legend of the Invisible Empire were such glorifications as "The Clansman," a 1905 novel by Thomas Dixon, a North Carolina minister—the basis of the now-famous D. W. Griffith 1915 motion picture masterpiece, "The Birth of a Nation."

William Joseph Simmons, a lanky Alabamian who had failed both as a medical student and a Methodist minister, founded the second Klan on Thanksgiving night, 1915, atop towering Stone Mountain, just outside of Atlanta. There, he and about fifteen followers stood below a burning cross and swore allegiance to the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, in a ceremony similar to that held in Tennessee 50 years earlier.

The second Klan expanded on its original anti-Negro ideology, stating that it aimed to keep "the Caucasian Race and its civilization pure by preserving it from the contaminating intermixture of alien races and their influences." It became, in fact, at least as anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-foreigner as it was anti-Negro. It plainly stated that its Northern Klaverns were "to be mainly an instrument of anti-Semitism." Its anti-Catholic hatred included such nonsense as the claim that the Pope was about to transfer his headquarters from Rome to Washington, and that arms were being stored in cathedrals in readiness for a Catholic seizure of the United States government.

The revived Klan remained a small, not-very-effective Georgia organization of only 5,000 members for the first five years of its history. But in June, 1920, Simmons hired two publicity agents, Edward Young Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler, and they were primarily responsible for the subsequent growth of the Klan into a multi-million dollar operation and a significant national political power. Its days of greatest prosperity and growth were from 1922 to 1925, under the leadership of Simmons' successor, Hiram Wesley Evans, a Texas dentist. In 1925, at the peak of its power, Klan membership stood between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 and its income was in the millions of dollars.

Unlike the Klan of Reconstruction days, the second Klan was a national phenomenon. It amassed substantial political power in the North and West, as well as in the South. In New Jersey, there was a Klan organization in every county. In Indiana there was a virtual KKK

The Second Klan



In 1925, Klan membership was at an all-time high and 40,000 Klansmen paraded down Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue in a show of strength. (Wide World)

dictatorship over state politics under Grand Dragon D. C. Stephenson. The order held strong power in Colorado, Oregon, Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Maine and Kansas. Even on Long Island, N. Y., crosses were burned and Klan rallies were held. The Klan was a major issue at the 1924 Democratic National Convention and the following year 40,000 Klansmen paraded down Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue in a show of strength.

As had been the case a half-century earlier, a great wave of public indignation over the Klan's violence contributed to its downfall. So, too, did internal bickering and some personal transgressions by Klan leaders which were exposed in the press. The death blow, perhaps, was a daring series of articles published in "The New York World." The Pulitzer newspaper had compiled statistics on Klan violence from October, 1920 to October, 1921. The findings: "Four killings, one mutilation, one branding with acid, forty-two floggings, twenty-seven tar-and-feather parties, five kidnappings, forty-three persons warned to leave town or otherwise threatened, fourteen communities threatened by warning posters, and sixteen parades by masked men with warning placards."

The Klan went into a rapid decline in 1926, and was down to about 350,000 members by the end of the following year. It did not die out completely, however, but continued to attract support from those who inherited the movement's legacy of racist violence, while shunned by all men of social standing or respectability.

In 1928, despite declining membership, the Klan was able to put up a vigorous, bitter fight against the first Catholic nominee for President, Alfred E. Smith. Six years later, still under Hiram Evans' leadership, the organization concentrated its attack on the New Deal. By 1939, Evans had given up the leadership of the Klan, selling its charter to Dr. James H. Colescott, a veterinarian from Terre Haute, Ind., and Samuel Green, an Atlanta doctor. On August 18, 1940, a year after its new leadership took over, the Klan engaged in some highly-publicized pro-Nazi activity in the state of New Jersey. Klansmen joined the German-American Bund in a large meeting at the Bund's Camp Nordland, and there they burned a cross forty feet high and sang Nazi marching songs. As America entered World War II, the Klan disappeared as a national movement and its little local groups eventually dissolved into obscurity.



Dr. Samuel Green. (UPI)

The Third Klan

The present Klan—the third Klan incarnation—has its roots in the period immediately following World War II when it was reorganized by Green. For four or five years thereafter, the Green-controlled Klan was active in parts of the South, but it splintered into fragments

The burning of crosses, the Ku Klux Klan's traditional ritual of terror and intimidation, has become a fiery symbol of Klan resurgence in the 1960's. (Wide World)



when Green died in 1949. One reaction to the activities of the post-war Klan was the passage of legislation against the wearing of masks and the burning of crosses in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia.*

Following Green's death there was a scramble for power between his successor, Samuel Roper, and various splinter leaders who sought to carve for themselves a slice of Green's Klan. The struggle for power, along with a mounting public reaction against Klan excesses, weakened the hooded order, but it managed to survive into the early 1950s.

In 1952, Federal law enforcement agencies and authorities in North Carolina undertook a mass roundup of Klansmen. Their action was touched off by a wave of terrorism that had swept over Horry County, S. C., the bailiwick of Thomas L. Hamilton, Imperial Wizard of the Carolina splinter group, and had spread into North Carolina. The terrorism had been marked by a series of brutal night-time kidnappings and floggings which terrorized citizens of Columbus County, N. C., for more than a year. Night-riders had administered beatings to Negroes and whites alike for a variety of "sins"—alleged drunkenness, failure to attend church regularly, and failure to provide support for home and family.

The reign of terror ended in February, 1952, when the F.B.I., aided by local police, staged a series of early morning raids and arrested 11 former members of Hamilton's Klan, charging them with

* Fifty-two key Southern communities also adopted anti-mask and anti-cross burning laws and ordinances. The Anti-Defamation League played a leading role in drafting model legislation which was published in a widely-distributed pamphlet, "How To Stop Violence, Intimidation in Your Community—A Legal Approach," written by Alexander F. Miller, then director of the League's Southern Region.



Imperial Wizard Sam Roper. (U

violations of the Federal (Lindbergh) Kidnapping Law—two victims had been carried across the state line to be flogged. Among those arrested was a local constable and former police chief of Fair Bluff, N.C., and another who was a deputy sheriff of Columbus County and former police chief in Tabor City, N.C. Ten of the 11 defendants were found guilty and received sentences of up to five years in the Federal Penitentiary.

Later that year, state authorities in North Carolina arrested additional Klansmen identified as having been involved in other flogging cases—including Imperial Wizard Thomas Hamilton himself. In July there was a mass trial of 71 Klansmen; 63 were convicted and sentenced, charged with 180 offenses in 12 separate flogging incidents. Hamilton drew four years at hard labor.

The North Carolina trials temporarily broke the Klan's power in the Carolinas and had a sobering effect on the hooded Klaverns elsewhere in the South. For the next four years—until 1956—local splinter groups continued to exist, but their influence was negligible.

The first wave of Southern resistance to the school desegregation decision handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court in May, 1954, was spearheaded by the new White Citizens Councils, which had sprung up across the South in the Summer of 1954. The Councils now sought, by "persuasion" based on the threat of economic reprisals, to choke off local activity by individuals and organizations favoring compliance with the Supreme Court decision. The Citizens Councils included members drawn from the respected levels of Southern life—bankers, mayors, planters, businessmen, sheriffs, politicians and other influential citizens—and their stated purpose was the preservation of a segregated South. Originated in Mississippi, the Councils soon spread to other Southern states, and by early 1956, boasted an estimated membership of some 100,000.

Respectable though they claimed to be—they rejected violence as a means of preserving segregation—there was, nevertheless, early evidence that the Councils had been infiltrated by anti-Semites, and that crude anti-Jewish propaganda was being recommended and circulated by some of their units. As time went on, moreover, extremist elements joined local Citizens Councils. Wholly extremist independent Councils, led by anti-Semites, sprang up.

Nevertheless, those Citizens Councils directed from Mississippi continued to wield considerable influence, and during the administration of former Governor Ross Barnett played a significant, if not dominant, role in Mississippi political and governmental affairs.

As the first steps toward desegregation in the South were accomplished, extremist elements in the Citizens Council movement began to gravitate toward the more extreme Councils, in which Klan

elements were active, or toward the dormant KKK itself.

By the second half of 1956, there was a sharp increase in Klan activity. In September, a crowd of 3,000 attended a Klan rally at Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, where the second Klan had begun 41 years



The Klan gathers on Stone Mountain, just outside of Atlanta, where the Klan was reborn in 1915.
(Wide World)

earlier. They came from seven Southern states in 1,000 cars, many painted with KKK emblems. The rally was organized by the late Eldon Edwards, an auto paint sprayer from Atlanta who had, in 1955, obtained a charter for a new hooded empire to be known as "The U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." As Edwards sought to organize new klaverns throughout Georgia—and later in Alabama and the Carolinas—Klan parades, rallies and cross-burnings became frequent spectacles once more.

Other small Klan units, one of them organized by Asa E. Carter, former leader of the extremist North Alabama Citizens Council, began to stir in Florida, Texas, Alabama and the Carolinas. A crowd of 1,000 attended a Klan rally at a drive-in theater near Concord, N.C.—the first such conclave to be held in that part of the state since the 1920s.

Nevertheless, the Klans which came to life in 1955-1956 failed to achieve any cohesion and remained a fragmented assortment of feuding wizards, dragons, and kleagles rejected by the overwhelming majority of Southerners who spurned the Klan while remaining opposed to integration.

The Edwards Klan, with an estimated 12,000 to 15,000 members, was the largest of the scattered Klan organizations. Some seven other scattered orders could boast no more than 1,000 or 1,500 members each.

Despite their relatively small membership, however, the danger posed by the Klans stemmed from their role as breeders of lawlessness and as magnets for the worst elements. Some Klan leaders were pistol-packing hoodlums familiar with the use of dynamite as a weapon of terrorism. Early in 1958 several members of a KKK group in North Carolina were seized in connection with an attempted bombing of a Negro elementary school in Charlotte.

Klansmen in Alabama were involved in one of the most sordid instances of violence on record. In September, 1957, a group of them met in a private home to decide what action to take in protest against efforts to desegregate schools in Birmingham. Deciding to pick up a Negro—any Negro—and to scare him, they found a poor handyman named Judge Aaron, dragged him to a small house with a dirt floor, emasculated him with a razor blade, and then tortured him by pouring turpentine on his wounds. The mayhem was carried out by lamplight under the supervision of an “Exalted Cyclops” who wore a Klan robe trimmed in red. The victim, later found by police in critical condition on a roadside, survived his ordeal.

Six Klansmen were arrested and charged with mayhem. Four were convicted and received 20-year terms. The trial judge called the offense one of the worst crimes in his 35 years of legal experience.

The Birmingham mutilation highlighted a series of outrages carried out by Klansmen during the summer and fall of 1957. In August, James E. Folsom, then Governor of Alabama, issued a public statement calling on all law enforcement agencies to crack down on Klan “hoodlumism.” His message came after six Negroes had been beaten in one Alabama town, four in another.

In February, 1960, the Negro sit-in movement was launched at Greensboro, N. C., and brought new and mounting pressure for desegregation to the entire South. While no concrete proof of a cause-and-effect relationship can be offered, 1960 marked a sharp increase in Klan activity and the consolidation of previously-splintered Klan organizations in seven Southern states.

The Klans gained considerable strength during 1960 and by the start of 1961, their southwide membership was estimated to be 35,000 to 50,000. Two major Klan “federations” emerged during 1960—the Edwards U.S. Knights of the KKK and the newly-formed National Knights organized by anti-Edwards splinter Klans in seven Southern states. A few local Klans—notably the Alabama Knights of the KKK, headed by Robert Shelton—remained unaffiliated at that time. Shelton had been head of the Edwards U.S. Knights of the KKK in Alabama until he was ousted by Edwards in the Spring of 1960, a falling-out typical of the persistent feuding between the petty lords of race warfare.

In January, 1961, the strength of the Edwards Klan was placed at 15,000 to 20,000, the National Knights at some 10,000 to 15,000. Another 10,000 to 12,000 supported various unaffiliated Klans and klaverns scattered through the South.

The significant growth of 1960 and 1961, however, was not so much in Klan membership as in Klan activity and violence. In March, 1960, to show its strength, the newly-formed National Knights of the

(UPI)



Imperial Wizard E. L. Edwards.

KKK staged a series of carefully coordinated cross-burnings throughout the South on the last weekend of the month. Newspapers at the time reported that on Saturday, March 26, more than 1,000 crosses were burned in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina and other Southern states.

There was evidence that Klansmen from Florida and South Georgia played an organized role in the race riots that rocked Jacksonville, Fla., for almost a week beginning on "Axe Handle" Saturday—August 27, 1960. Tactics to counteract the sit-in movement, of which Jacksonville was then a target, were discussed at a meeting of the Jacksonville klavern of the Florida Knights of the KKK four days earlier. From that meeting a call went out to other Klan units urging them to converge on Jacksonville the following Saturday and to bring Klan sympathizers with them. They were to leave all Klan identification at home and to come to Jacksonville in street clothing.

Scores of Klansmen and other whites appeared in downtown Jacksonville on the morning of August 27. Stores selling baseball bats and axe handles reported heavy sales—one store alone sold 50 axe handles. Violence soon broke out and during the disorders, shouts that "For every nigger, we got to kill two Jews!" were heard. Sporadic disorder and violence continued for several days.

The death of Eldon Edwards on August 1, 1960, brought new and more violent leadership to his U.S. Klans organization, which remained the largest of the splinter Klan groups, though relatively inactive. Edwards had sought to convey an image of respectability, in part by public statements rejecting violence, in part by inaction. His critics said his real interest in the Klan had been increasing his personal wealth. In any event, during his five years of leadership, the activities of the U.S. Klans appeared to consist for the most part of an occasional picnic or fish-fry. But Edwards' successor, aptly named "Wild Bill" Davidson (real name Robert Lee Davidson), soon made it clear that he intended to pursue an "activist" policy. Unlike Edwards, Davidson publicly advocated extreme measures to preserve segregation.

"If it takes buckshot to keep the black race down," he was quoted as saying publicly in November, 1960, "Klansmen will use it." The Klan chaplain was quoted as saying that "If it takes saving the American way at the cost of our lives, then let's make that sacrifice."

Atlanta newsmen reported that the Klan speakers, while professing love for all races and creeds, shouted about "Jew boys" and "niggers," and that while professing their respect for law and order, they talked of using buckshot, burning schools and sacrificing Klan lives in the cause.

In January, 1961, when the University of Georgia at Athens



University of Georgia students demonstrating against the admission of two Negro students. (Wide World)

was ordered desegregated by a Federal Court—two Negro students were then admitted—a riot took place on the campus. Newspaper reports noted the presence of known Klansmen in street clothing at the scene. They were led by Calvin Craig, then Grand Dragon of the U.S. Klans for the State of Georgia.

Nine out-of-towners—from Atlanta—were arrested in Athens and all but one were Klan members. Two of them were special Fulton County (Atlanta) deputy sheriffs. Police confiscated a small arsenal of guns.

On July 8, 1961, the United Klans of America was formed at Indian Springs, Ga., with some 500 Klansmen from seven Southern states present. The plan was to merge various splinter groups into a unified hooded empire and to fill the leadership vacuum that had developed after the death of Edwards and the failure of the National Knights, formed a year earlier, to bring cohesion to the movement.

The leading figure at the Indian Springs meeting was Shelton, who had come with an eight-man security guard dressed in black boots and red ties. The apparent show of strength by the Alabama leader had its effect, and Shelton was named Imperial Wizard of the new Klan union.

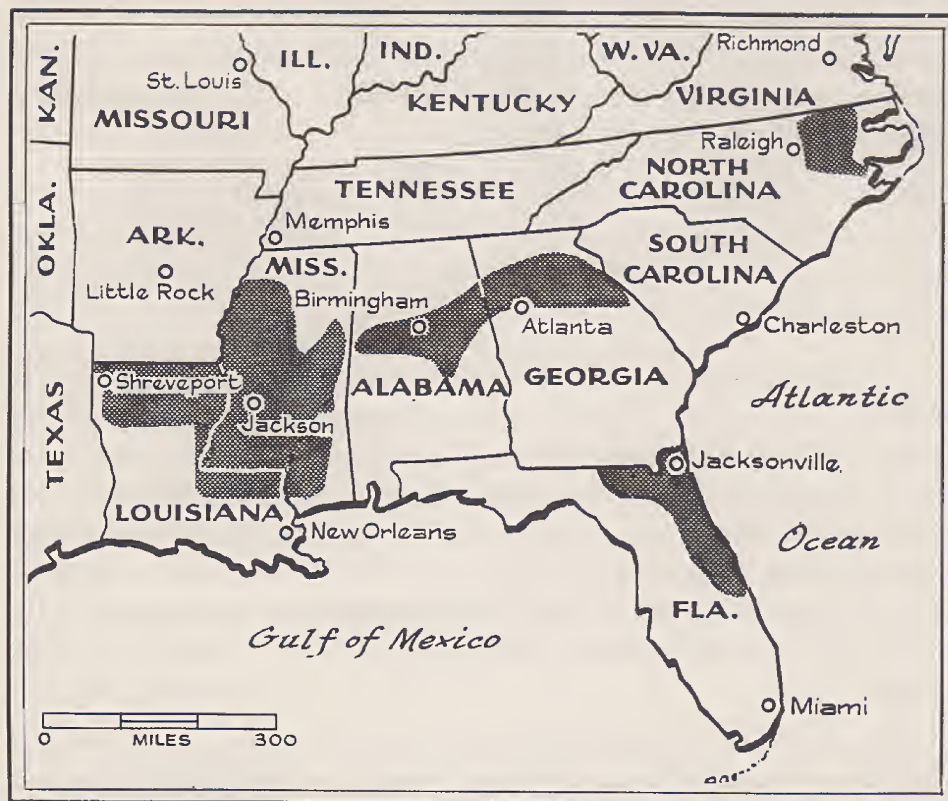
The desegregation efforts of the civil rights movement at Albany, Ga., during 1962, sparked Klan efforts at recruitment, and by early 1963, the United Klans' Albany klavern, numbering some 300, was one of the largest in Georgia. On Labor Day, 1962, in Albany, a 40-foot cross was burned before an estimated crowd of 5,000 or 6,000 with Shelton and other bigwigs present. In August, 1963, a United Klans cross-burning at Lakeland, Fla., attracted an estimated 8,000.

Such cross-burnings and public "speeches" staged by the United Klans, coupled with Shelton's organizing energy and the growing pressure of desegregation, helped the growth of the organization which, by the Spring of 1965, had become the strongest Klan group in the country.

KKK and the 1964 Election

The Ku Klux Klan became a political "issue" in the 1964 Goldwater-Johnson Presidential races and various Klans attracted attention to their organizations by exploiting the "extremism" issue.

The role of President Johnson as inheritor of President Kennedy's mantle, and his determination in pressing for a Civil Rights Bill, did nothing to endear him to the Klans. Moreover, while the Republican convention at San Francisco had refused to condemn extremist groups such as the John Birch Society and the Klans by name, the Democratic platform had emphatically done so. Follow-



F.B.I. Chief J. Edgar Hoover said in 1965: "During the past year there has been a marked increase in Klan membership." Shaded areas show where Klan activity is most active today.

(N. Y. Times) © 1965 by the New York Times Company, reprinted by permission.

ing adoption of that platform, Robert Shelton denounced the Democratic Party. "Known Communist agitators," he charged, had participated in its convention.

Later in the campaign, the GOP adopted a position on the Klan similar to that of the Democrats. In the days right after the San Francisco convention, vice-presidential candidate William Miller and GOP National Chairman Dean Burch had refused to disavow the Klan support proffered by Calvin Craig, Grand Dragon of Shelton's Georgia affiliates, but Senator Goldwater himself soon repudiated it thoroughly. Only a week after the Miller and Burch statements, Goldwater declared:

"We don't want the backing of the Ku Klux Klan and I don't think we're going to get it."

It is doubtful that the Klans had any substantial impact on the course of the Presidential contest in the South. The numerical strength of the Klans, scattered throughout the Southern states, was not sufficient to have any meaningful effect politically. Further, it must be borne in mind that the Klans are viewed with disfavor by the majority of white Southerners, including most of those favoring segregation of the races.



The Record of Violence

Consistent with its history, and in keeping with the public declarations of its acknowledged leaders, the Ku Klux Klan has contributed to the sordid record of violence attached to racial problems in the South over the past few years.

- Birmingham has had at least 29 bombings since 1957. As recently as the first week in April, 1965, the home of a Negro accountant was blasted, and an hour later, bombs were found and disarmed at the homes of Mayor Albert Boutwell and a City Councilwoman. Whites and Negroes alike have been targets of terror, but Negro homes, businesses and churches have been the main targets. Perhaps the worst of such events in Birmingham was the September 15, 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in which the four Negro girls were killed. Three men, two of them with Klan records, were arrested and found guilty of possessing dynamite. In June, 1964, the three men were acquitted of the possession charge, a misdemeanor. One related in an alleged confession how he had secured the dynamite to blow out tree stumps on land intended as a new headquarters for a Klan group.

- Since 1963, eleven persons have died violently as the result of racial tensions in Alabama. In April, 1963, William L. Moore, a Baltimore postman, was shot to death on U.S. 11 near Attalla, Ala., while on a one-man civil rights walk from Chattanooga, Tenn., to Jackson, Miss. On September 4, 1963, John L. Coley of Birmingham was shot to death in a riot that followed the bombing of a Negro lawyer's home. The four Negro children killed in the infamous Birmingham church bombing were Cynthia Wesley, 14, Carol Robertson, 14, Denise McNair, 11, and Addie Mae Collins, 14. Another child, Virgil Ware, 13, was shot to death by a white youth in the aftermath of the bombing, and Johnnie Robertson, 16, was killed by a police officer the same day. On February 18, 1965, James Lee Jackson was fatally wounded in a clash between Negroes and Alabama State Troopers in Marion, Ala. Jackson died February 26. The Rev. James Reeb, Unitarian minister of Boston, was fatally clubbed by a white man in Selma on March 9, and he died two days later. Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo of Detroit was shot to death on March 25 near Lowndesboro, Ala., while aiding in the Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march.

- In McComb, Miss., during 1964, 18 bomb blasts took place at Negro churches and homes. On October 1, 1964, three Klansmen were arrested in connection with one of the bombings, one of them in connection with a second. On October 24 these three plus six others entered pleas of guilty and *nolo contendere*. After setting various sentences for the nine men, the court suspended the sentences.

- Klansmen have been arrested, tried and acquitted, or convicted in



Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo.
Shot to death in Alabama.
(Wide World)

connection with numerous bombings and attempted bombings. Examples: there were explosions at the home of Mayor John Nossor of Natchez, Miss., who believes qualified Negroes should vote. Bombs blasted the newspaper office of a Pulitzer Prize winner, Hazel B. Smith of Lexington, Miss., who fought the Klan through the pages of her newspaper. Six bombings in Shreveport, La., inflicted an estimated \$100,000 worth of damage on property owned by integrationists. Two Klansmen were convicted of stealing dynamite to be used in a planned bombing of the five-story cable car building at Georgia's Stone Mountain. Police balked the planned bombing.

- Four Georgia Klan members were arrested in the Summer of 1964, in connection with the murder of Lemuel Penn, a Negro educator who was gunned down from a passing auto while driving home to Washington from military duty at Fort Benning, Ga. Two of the four were tried; they were acquitted by an all-white jury. The four, plus two other Klansmen, were then indicted by a Federal grand jury for conspiring to injure and oppress Negroes. In December a Federal Court in Macon dismissed the indictment.

- Twenty-one men, six of them said by the F.B.I. to be members of the White Knights of Ku Klux Klan, were arrested in Mississippi by the F.B.I. on December 4, 1964 in connection with the slaying of civil rights workers Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney on June 21 near Philadelphia, Miss. The charge: conspiring to



Lemuel A. Penn. Shot and killed in Georgia. (Wide World)



Andrew Goodman, James Chaney and Michael Schwerner. Murdered in Mississippi. (UPI)

violate the civil and constitutional rights of the three slain men. Six days later, a U.S. Commissioner dismissed the charges against 19 of the 21 men arrested. On January 11, 1965, the Government presented to a Federal grand jury the confessions of two of the men, one an acknowledged Klan member. On January 15, the grand jury handed up indictments against all but a few of the 21. On February 26, U.S. District Court Judge W. Harold Cox ruled that 17 of the defendants should stand trial on misdemeanor charges in the deaths of the three civil rights workers and he dismissed felony charges against them. (The New York Times reported that Judge Cox, a native of Mississippi, had

referred to Negroes in a voter registration hearing in his chambers in March, 1964, as "a bunch of niggers" and called them "chimpanzees" who "ought to be in the movies rather than being registered to vote.")

- On February 16, 1964, a bomb caused extensive damage to the home of a Jacksonville, Fla., Negro family whose six-year-old boy had entered a previously all-white school. William Sterling Rosecrans, described as a "close associate" of North Florida KKK leaders, was arrested on March 3 and charged with the bombing. On March 12, the F.B.I. arrested five Klansmen and a day later Rosecrans pleaded guilty to Federal charges of conspiring to bomb the boy's home and to intimidate Negroes from carrying out school desegregation. He was sentenced to seven years in Federal prison, but early in 1965 was seeking his release on the grounds that he had not been given an opportunity to consult a lawyer or advised of his right to do so. The five Klansmen were all acquitted.

- The burning of crosses, the Ku Klux Klan's traditional ritual of terror and intimidation, has become a fiery symbol of Klan resurgence in the 1960s. In March of 1960 alone, more than a thousand crosses were burned in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas and other Southern states—a show of strength by the then newly-formed National Knights of the KKK. In September, 1962, when the Klan was reactivated in Louisiana, its units burned crosses in at least 14 north Louisiana towns and at the State Capitol in Baton Rouge.

- In January, 1964, more than 150 crosses were burned near Negro homes and schools in five Louisiana parishes, and at seven different places on a single night in Vicksburg, Miss. In May, crosses were burned in 64 Mississippi counties on the same night. On August 15, there were scores of cross-burnings in Louisiana and Mississippi, many of them at 10 p.m. sharp by obviously pre-arranged planning and coordination.

- Negro churches have been burned on numberless occasions throughout the South.

- Individual persons, both Negro and white, have been beaten and flogged. In November, 1964, in Laurel, Miss., a gang of masked men kidnapped Otis Matthews, financial secretary of Local 5443 of the AFL-CIO International Woodworkers of America. They tied his hands, ripped off his trousers, thrust him face down on the ground, and beat him with a heavy leather strap. From time to time the beatings were interrupted and hot liquid poured on his wounds. Matthews said later he was beaten by the KKK because the union had approved a Federal order giving Negroes equal treatment at the Masonite plant in Laurel.

- In July, 1964, the owner of a filling station in Wesson, Miss., was beaten by three masked and hooded men because he had refused to join the Klan and had hired Negro employees. Earlier, in April, Klansmen beat up a newspaper reporter near one of their meetings in Jackson, La.

- St. Augustine, Fla., was the scene of days of racial violence and disorder in the early summer of 1964, when Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference sought desegregation there. Klan-type rallies were a nightly occurrence in the "Slave Market" of the nation's oldest city. Robed Klansmen mingled with non-robed whites to hear harangues by itinerant rabble-rousers such as J. B. Stoner, an official of the racist, anti-Jewish National States Rights Party who boasts a long Klan record, and by "Reverend" Connie Lynch, a Californian who travels by sporty Cadillac to areas where trouble brews, then fans the flames of unrest. In St. Augustine, Stoner and Lynch whipped up the hard-core, violent elements who were spearheaded by the "Ancient City Gun Club," headed by Holsted "Horse" Manucy.

Dr. King's desegregation efforts, and "wade-ins," when Negroes sought to desegregate the beach in St. Augustine, brought violent reaction from the segregationist mobs. The city became the scene of racial rioting for several weeks during which the Klan paraded openly in the streets. During a court hearing on the question of a city ban on night marches by civil rights groups, Federal Judge Bryan Simpson asked Sheriff O. L. Davis whether he, himself, was a member of the Klan, and whether he recruited his deputies from Klan ranks. The sheriff, a long-time friend of "Horse" Manucy, expressed shocked denials to both questions.

- Philadelphia, Miss., was another town knowing open KKK activity. Just before Christmas, 1964, after months of silence born of fear in Philadelphia, the Rev. Clay Lee, a young Methodist minister, openly declared—from his pulpit and before a Rotary Club audience—that the hooded terrorists had ruled the area for at least six months. He said: "For all practical purposes, the Klan has taken over the guidance of thought patterns in our town. It has controlled what was said and what was not said."

- Bogalusa, La., provides perhaps the most frightening example in recent years of Klan terrorism of an entire community. Situated about 60 miles north of New Orleans along the swampy Pearl River, which forms the border between Mississippi and Louisiana, Bogalusa has been the focal point for a resurgence of Klan terror that started in earnest about a year ago when the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana began organizing and burning crosses throughout

the northern and eastern parts of the state. By the Winter of 1964-1965, the Klan had virtually paralyzed the community. Bogalusa was dubbed "Klantown USA" by some observers.

The local situation became the subject of national headlines early in 1965 when former Arkansas Congressman Brooks Hays, a moderate, was invited by a group of six Bogalusa citizens to speak to a white and Negro audience on the experiences of Southern cities faced with integration. Immediately following the invitation, the Klan and its followers launched a campaign of intimidation and economic boycott against those who had invited Hays to speak. The campaign did not stop, even after pressure forced the members of the citizens committee to withdraw the invitation and cancel the meeting.

The men who had invited Hays—the local newspaper editor, the operator of radio station WBOX, an attorney, and three ministers—were subjected to constant phone harassment, often by callers using vile language and making threats against their lives and property. One caller told the wife of Ralph Blumberg, operator and half-owner of Bogalusa's radio station: "He's signed his death warrant."

Blumberg bore the major brunt of the attack. The transmitter of his radio station was fired on with a shotgun. He was threatened with death. His car windows were smashed, and nails were hammered into its tires. Suddenly, most of his station's advertisers withdrew as sponsors. Eventually, Blumberg had to take all his sponsors off the air to protect them from harassment. (One of his sponsors had received 37 "warning" calls in a single day.) Despite the attack, Blumberg courageously vowed to stay on the air and to continue "to fight with everything" he had.

Prior to the scheduled Hays speech, the Klan distributed a leaflet that reached almost every home in the community. Residents were told that the purpose of the Hays invitation committee was to convince them to allow their children "to sit by filthy, runny-nosed, ragged, ugly little niggers in your public schools."

And so, the leaflet warned, "The Ku Klux Klan is strongly organized in Bogalusa . . . Being a secret organization, we have KLAN members in every conceivable business in this area. We will know the names of all who are invited to the Brooks Hays meeting . . . Accordingly, we take this means to urge all of you to refrain from attending . . . Those who do attend . . . will be tagged as integrationists and will be dealt with accordingly by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan."

The resurgence of Klan activity in the Bogalusa area resulted in numerous acts of terror and violence. A 26-year-old millworker was pistol-whipped by hooded men. A Tulane student who had participated in civil rights activities in New Orleans was flogged so severely that he needed surgery. A banjo player who had played in a hoote-nanny with Negroes was also beaten.

In a press release, the Congress of Racial Equality charged that at least eight beatings or other incidents of violence against individuals took place in the Bogalusa area between January 25 and February 21, 1965. One of these involved a young CORE worker who, on February 3, was attacked by two men and beaten severely, one of his hands being broken in two places.

Newspaper reports of Klan membership in Bogalusa range from 600 to 1,400 members. "The difficulty," one resident said, "is that nobody knows for sure who's in the Klan. The next fellow who walks through that door might be a member." He added: "It's a shame, but people can't speak their minds freely in Bogalusa today." Another observer described the town's climate this way: "Tension lies like fog, infecting every aspect of its life."

In its preoccupation with violence, and in particular with weaponry, the Ku Klux Klan has begun a dangerous trend toward an underground form of organization—the "gun club." Such units have certain advantages from the Klan viewpoint, quite aside from increased secrecy. Gun clubs admit members at a much younger age—17-year-olds are eligible—than do the Klans themselves, and thereby attract eager and violence-prone youths into the KKK orbit. Moreover, membership in a gun club gives a Klan-minded tough an easy excuse—a gun club meeting—when he is stopped and weapons are found in his car.

The "Gun Club"

The first gun clubs organized under Klan auspices managed to obtain affiliation with the eminently respectable National Rifle Association, which was unaware at the time of their true nature. Clubs organized through the N.R.A. could purchase surplus quantities of guns and ammunition from armories at reduced prices. This practice was discontinued late in 1964, and the gun clubs formed by the Klan since that time have not been allowed to affiliate with the N.R.A.

The Klan-inspired clubs have, however, found other sources of supply. One gun dealer in the Deep South, who keeps large stocks on hand, reportedly sold four tons of guns in one 70-day period early in 1965.

Now, in addition to the gun clubs, other forms of underground organization are being developed by the hooded orders. One Klan, for instance, has taken steps to incorporate as a "Church." Its leaders are reported to feel that if use of the Klan name and organization should become untenable, klaverns would still be able to operate as "church groups." Thus, as the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan drew near the end of its first century, the fiery cross had reached its ultimate hypocrisy.

**Violence and Intimidation
in the South—
A Partial Chronology**

(The following chronology does not purport to be a complete record of the acts of violence, arson and intimidation which have taken place in the South in the period between September, 1962, and April, 1965. Nor is each episode necessarily attributable directly to the activity of the Ku Klux Klans. But knowledgeable observers believe that most acts of violence in the South in recent years are the work of the Klans, individuals working closely with the Klans, or Klan-type elements.)

1962

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| Sept. 1, 1962 | Louisiana | Crosses were burned by the Klan in front of the state capitol in Baton Rouge; three Negro schools in Hodge and near Bosco; at a Negro Minister's home in Bastrop; and in eleven other north Louisiana towns. |
| Sept. 3, 1962 | Albany, Ga. | A cross was burned at a Klan meeting. |
| Sept. 5, 1962 | Dallas, Ga. | A group of masked riders attempted to force their way into the home of a Negro, but were forced to flee when they were fired on. |
| Oct. 4, 1962 | Greenville, Miss. | A cross was burned near the home of Hodding Carter, editor-publisher of the <i>Delta Democrat-Times</i> . |
| Oct. 13, 1962 | Birmingham, Ala. | A man was beaten at a Klan rally after he declared: "Mob violence is no answer to anything." |
| Dec. 14, 1962 | Birmingham, Ala. | The New Bethel Baptist Church, a Negro church, was damaged by a bomb. |

1963

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|---------------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Feb. 4, 1963 | Mobile, Ala. | A cross was burned in front of the home of a Negro minister who had urged desegregation of a high school. |
| Feb. 7, 1963 | Bossier City, La. | Four men were arrested following the painting of some 30 KKK signs on sidewalks, stores, buildings, traffic signs and driveways. |
| Mar. 24, 1963 | Birmingham, Ala. | A bomb exploded at the home of a Negro, injuring two of the five occupants. |
| May 11, 1963 | Birmingham, Ala. | Blasts ripped the home of Rev. A. D. King and the A. G. Gaston Motel. |

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| May 12, 1963 | Anniston, Ala. | Shots were fired at the homes of two Negroes. On May 20, a one-time Klan leader, Kenneth Adams, was arrested and on May 25 was convicted for these assaults. He was sentenced to 180 days in jail and fined \$100 on each of the shooting counts and freed on bond pending an appeal. (Adams was also accused of firing a shot into a Negro church on May 12. On April 8, 1964 a jury found him innocent.) |
| May 17, 1963 | Alexandria, La. | A cross was burned in front of the home of relatives of a Negro youth who was in jail, charged with the rape of a white woman. |
| June 8, 1963 | Tuscaloosa, Ala. | A cross was burned at a Klan meeting. |
| June 18, 1963 | Gillett, Ark. | ✓ A dynamite blast blew out the front door of a Negro church. |
| June 26, 1963 | Gulfport, Miss. | An explosion damaged the offices of a Negro doctor who was president of the local NAACP chapter. |
| June 30, 1963 | Jackson, Miss. | ✓ An explosion collapsed a two-family frame house; four Negro men escaped injury. |
| July 14, 1963 | Atlanta, Ga. | A cross was burned at a Klan meeting. |
| July 27, 1963 | Anderson, S. C. | Klan meeting featured a cross burning. |
| Aug. 15, 1963 | Birmingham, Ala. | Tear gas bombs were detonated at a department store which had recently been desegregated. |
| Aug. 21, 1963 | Birmingham, Ala. | The home of Negro attorney Arthur D. Shores was bombed. |
| Aug. 26, 1963 | Columbia, S. C. | ✓ A packet of dynamite blew a crater near the home of a Negro girl, scheduled to enter the University of S. C. |
| Aug. 26, 1963 | Buras, La. | An explosion wrecked a classroom and started a fire in an integrated Catholic school. |

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| Sept. 1, 1963 | Winnsboro, La. | Crosses were burned in front of several schools, one night after a Klan rally. |
| Sept. 4, 1963 | Birmingham, Ala. | The home of Arthur D. Shores was blasted again. |
| Sept. 7, 1963 | Ocala, Fla. | A 35-foot cross was burned at a Klan rally. |
| Sept. 8, 1963 | Birmingham, Ala. | The home of A. G. Gaston, an influential Negro, was bombed. |
| Sept. 15, 1963 | Birmingham, Ala. | The bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church resulted in the death of four Negro girls. |
| Sept. 18, 1963 | St. Augustine, Fla. | Four Negroes were beaten when they drove their car near a Klan rally. Four Klansmen were arrested on Sept. 19 and released on bond. On Oct. 16, one of the beaten Negroes was convicted of assaulting two of the Klansmen. On November 5, a jury found one of the Klansmen innocent, and charges against the other three were dismissed. |
| Sept. 25, 1963 | Birmingham, Ala. | Two bombs were exploded in a Negro neighborhood. |
| Sept. 30, 1963 | Birmingham, Ala. | State Police arrested two men in connection with racial bombings. The suspects, Robert E. Chambliss and Charles Cagle, had Klan records. A third man, John W. Hall, was subsequently arrested. On Oct. 9 the City Recorder found the men guilty of possessing dynamite and sentenced them to 180-day jail sentences and \$100 fines. The three were released on bond. On June 16 and 18, 1964, they were found not guilty by a jury. |
| Nov. 16, 1963 | Tuscaloosa, Ala. | Two explosions, 18 hours apart, shattered windows in a Negro neighborhood and jolted the University of Alabama campus. |
| Nov. 16, 1963 | Rayville, La. | Over 1,000 Klansmen assembled amid the glow of burning crosses. |

Nov. 19, 1963 Tuscaloosa, Ala. A dynamite bomb exploded near the dormitory of a Negro co-ed at the University of Alabama.

Dec. 8, 1963 Dawson, Ga. Gunfire and an explosion damaged the home of a Negro voter-registration worker.

1964

Jan., 1964 McComb, Miss. A cross was burned in front of a Negro minister's home.

Jan. 18, 1964 Louisiana More than 150 crosses were burned near Negro homes, churches and schools in five parishes.

Jan. 25, 1964 Atlanta, Ga. During civil rights demonstrations, Klansmen clashed with Negro students.

Jan. 31, 1964 Vicksburg, Miss. Crosses were burned in seven different places.

Feb. 15, 1964 Black Lake, La. Klan burned a cross at a meeting.

Feb. 16, 1964 Jacksonville, Fla. A bomb caused extensive damage to the home of a 6-year old Negro boy who attended a previously all-white school. On March 3, William Sterling Rosecrans, a "close associate" of North Florida KKK leaders was arrested and charged with the bombing. On March 12, the FBI arrested five Klansmen, Barton H. Griffin, Jacky Don Harden, Willie Eugene Wilson, Donald Eugene Spegal and Robert Pittman Gentry, in connection with the bombing. On March 13, Rosecrans, who is from Indiana, pleaded guilty and a month later (April 17) was sentenced to 7 years in Federal prison. On June 30, the five Klansmen went on trial and a week later Jacky Don Harden and Robert Pittman Gentry were acquitted. A mistrial was declared in the cases of the other three Klansmen. Retrial began on November 16 and nine days later a jury acquitted the Klansmen of charges that they conspired to violate the civil rights of the 6-year-old Negro boy.

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| Apr. 18, 1964 | Notasulga, Ala. | The Macon County High School was destroyed by a fire. The school had recently been ordered to desegregate, and white students were boycotting it. |
| April, 1964 | Bogalusa, La. | Three men in black hoods abducted a millworker, accused him of failing to support his child, beat him with a pistol and whipped him. |
| April, 1964 | Jackson, La. | Bob Wagner, a newsman, was seized by Klansmen near one of their meetings, and was beaten. |
| May 2, 1964 | Jackson, Miss. | Two young Negroes disappeared and their bodies were accidentally found in the Mississippi River in July by a large group of men who were looking for three missing civil rights workers. On November 6 two men, one an acknowledged member of the Klan, were arrested on charges of killing the Negroes. They were freed on bond pending a trial. |
| May, 1964 | Mississippi | Crosses were burned in 64 counties on the same night. |
| May 29, 1964 | St. Augustine, Fla. | Night-riders shot up an unoccupied beach cottage and fired into an automobile, narrowly missing an aide to Dr. Martin L. King. |
| June 16, 1964 | Philadelphia, Miss. | A group of armed white men surrounded the Mt. Zion Methodist Church, beat Negroes and burned the church to the ground. |
| June 17, 1964 | Jackson, Miss. | A Negro was abducted by a group of hooded men and was flogged. |
| June 20, 1964 | Fayette, Miss. | A Negro civil rights worker was chased from his car by a group of white men. |
| June, 1964 | McComb, Miss. | Explosions on one night occurred at the homes of two Negroes suspected of civil rights activities; at the barbershop owned by another; and at the homes of two white men who had made remarks opposing KKK violence. |

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| June 21, 1964 | Branson, Miss. | The Sweet Rest Church of Christ Holiness was rocked by an explosion. |
| June 21, 1964 | Maben, Miss. | A crowd of whites, many of whom were armed, circled a car containing 6 Negro civil rights workers. Passengers were spat upon, cursed and threatened. |
| June 21, 1964 | Philadelphia, Miss. | Three civil rights workers, two of them white, disappeared. Their bodies were found several months later. On December 4, the F.B.I. arrested twenty-one men, charging them with conspiring to violate the constitutional rights of the three young men. Several of the defendants were members of the Klan. The men were released on bond. On Dec. 10, a U.S. Commissioner dismissed the charges against 19 of the men. On Jan. 11, 1965, the Government presented to a Federal Grand Jury the confessions of two of the men, one of whom is an acknowledged member of a Klan. The Grand Jury handed down indictments on January 15 against most of the original defendants. On Feb. 25, a U.S. District Court judge dismissed felony indictments against 17 men, but ruled they must stand trial under a misdemeanor charge. An 18th defendant was to be tried separately in Atlanta. |
| June 22, 1964 | McComb, Miss. | The homes of two Negroes active in the civil rights movement were bombed. |
| June 25, 1964 | Ruleville, Miss. | A Negro church was bombed. |
| June, 1964 | Longdale, Miss. | Another Negro church was hit by a fire bomb. |
| June 27, 1964 | McComb, Miss. | A Molotov cocktail mixture of oil and kerosene was hurled against the front door of the McComb <i>Enterprise Journal</i> . A note around the bottle was signed "K.K.K." |

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| July 4, 1964 | Enfield, N. C. | Cross-burning. |
| July 7, 1964 | McComb, Miss. | Three explosions destroyed a section of the civil rights "Freedom House." |
| July 11, 1964 | Athens, Ga. | Lemuel Penn, a Negro educator, along with a companion, had completed summer military training at Fort Benning, Ga. They were driving home when they were fired on and Penn was killed. On Aug. 6, four men identified as Klansmen were arrested in connection with the killing. On Aug. 31, two men went on trial. A third man's confession, later repudiated, was read. On Sept. 4, a jury found the two Klansmen not guilty. On Oct. 16, the four Klansmen, along with two others, were indicted by a Federal grand jury, charged with acts of intimidation and violence against Negroes. On Dec. 29, the Federal indictments against the six men were thrown out by a U.S. District Court Judge. A state charge of murder is still faced by the Klansman who originally confessed a role in the slaying. Another man was charged with being an accessory after the fact. |
| July 12, 1964 | Natchez, Miss. | Two Negro churches were leveled by arsonists. |
| July 13, 1964 | Elm City, N. C. | An attempt to burn a Negro church that an integrated group planned to paint led to the arrest of two men. The KKK had warned that it would prevent efforts to conduct integrated projects at a church. |
| July 14, 1964 | Wesson, Miss. | The owner of a gas station was beaten by three masked and hooded men. He had refused to join the Klan, had hired Negro help and allowed them to use the cash register. |
| July 17, 1964 | McComb, Miss. | The Zion Hill Freewill Baptist Church was burned, and two men were roughed up by three white men. |

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| July 18, 1964 | Atlanta, Ga. | Cross-burning at a Klan meeting. |
| July 19, 1964 | Madison County, Miss. | The Christian Union Baptist Church was destroyed by a fire. |
| July 19, 1964 | St. Augustine, Fla. | A 20-foot cross was burned at a Klan rally. |
| July 24, 1964 | St. Augustine, Fla. | A fire bomb was tossed into a recently-integrated restaurant. Later that day, warrants were sworn out against five Klansmen charging them with burning a cross on private property without permission. |
| July 30, 1964 | Brandon, Miss. | The Pleasant Grove Baptist Church burned to its foundation. |
| July 31, 1964 | Meridian, Miss. | The Mount Moriah Baptist Church was destroyed by fire. |
| Aug. 1, 1964 | Farmerville, La. | A 50-foot cross was burned at a Klan meeting. |
| Aug. 13, 1964 | Raleigh, N. C. | Cross burned on lawn of Governor's mansion. |
| Aug. 15, 1964 | Natchez, Miss. | Dynamite demolished a nightclub and bar, serving an all-Negro clientele, located across the street from a building housing the local Freedom School. |
| Aug. 15, 1964 | Greensburg, La. | Several crosses were burned. |
| Aug. 15, 1964 | Greenwood, Miss. | A Negro was shot while seated in his car. (He had been severely beaten the previous month.) |
| Aug. 15, 1964 | Jackson, Miss. | A Negro was shot, a white civil rights worker was clubbed and at least six crosses were burned. |
| Aug. 15, 1964 | Mississippi and Louisiana | Scores of crosses were burned, many of them fired at 10 p.m. by obvious pre-arrangement. |
| Aug. 27, 1964 | Jackson, Miss. | A bomb shattered the windows and doors in the office of a small weekly newspaper, whose anti-Klan editor had won a Pulitzer Prize for her crusading editorials. |
| Aug. 29, 1964 | Natchez, Miss. | A cross was burned at a Klan rally. |
| Sept. 2, 1964 | Enfield, N. C. | Cross-burning. |
| Sept. 3, 1964 | Enfield, N. C. | Several crosses were burned. |

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| Sept. 6, 1964 | Canton, Miss. | A dynamite blast ripped through a white-owned grocery in a Negro neighborhood. |
| Sept. 7, 1964 | Summit, Miss. | Three pre-dawn bomb blasts damaged a home, a store and a shed, all owned by Negroes. |
| Sept. 9, 1964 | McComb, Miss. | Dynamite damaged the home of a Negro minister. |
| Sept. 17, 1964 | Canton, Miss. | Two Negro churches used for voter registration activity were burned. |
| Sept. 19, 1964 | Philadelphia, Miss. | Two small churches were hit by fire. |
| Sept. 20, 1964 | McComb, Miss. | The home of a Negro woman active in civil rights work was blasted. On Oct. 1 three white men, who had membership cards in the KKK, were arrested; and one of them was also charged in connection with the September 9 bombing. On October 12, the three men, along with another individual, were indicted in connection with the bombing. On October 24, the four men, plus five others who had been seized in connection with the bombing, entered pleas of guilty and <i>nolo contendere</i> . After designating various sentences for the nine men, the judge suspended the sentences. |
| Sept. 21, 1964 | McComb, Miss. | Dynamite bombs hurled from passing cars damaged a church and Negro home. |
| Sept. 21, 1964 | Enfield, N. C. | Cross-burning. |
| Sept. 23, 1964 | McComb, Miss. | A bomb was hurled at the home of a former Negro policeman. |
| Sept. 23, 1964 | Columbia, S. C. | A cross was burned in front of the Governor's mansion. |
| Sept. 25, 1964 | Natchez, Miss. | An explosion ripped a hole in the lawn at the home of the mayor. Another blast occurred at the home of a Negro. |
| Sept. 26, 1964 | Farmville, N. C. | A minister was threatened, harassed and searched while attending a Klan rally. |

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| Oct. 4, 1964 | Vicksburg, Miss. | A dynamite explosion heavily damaged a Negro church building that had been used as a voter registration headquarters. |
| Oct. 31, 1964 | Ripley, Miss. | Fire destroyed the Antioch Baptist Church, which had been used as a Freedom School. |
| Nov. 17, 1964 | Laurel, Miss. | A union official was kidnapped at gunpoint and whipped by masked men. |
| Nov. 29, 1964 | Montgomery, Ala. | A dynamite bomb wrecked the carport of the home of a Negro family. |
| Dec. 10, 1964 | Ferriday, La. | Several white men poured gasoline on a shoeshop and after setting fire to it, prevented a Negro from leaving. He subsequently died in a hospital. |
| Dec. 13, 1964 | Montgomery, Ala. | An explosion was set off outside a Negro church. Three men were accused of the crime and received 6 month sentences, but were released on probation after 10 days in jail. One of the men had been indicted in 1957 in connection with bombings of Negro churches and homes. |

1965

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| January, 1965 | Center, Tex. | A number of crosses were burned, including six on one night. |
| Jan. 17, 1965 | Jonesboro, La. | Fires destroyed two rural Negro churches. |
| Jan. 23, 1965 | New Bern, N. C. | Three explosions wrecked a Negro funeral home and two cars during a civil rights meeting. Six days later, the F.B.I. arrested 3 men, one of them an Exalted Cyclops of a Klan. |
| Feb. 16, 1965 | Mobile, Ala. | Two Negro youths were wounded by shotgun blasts. |
| Feb. 28, 1965 | Lowndes County, Ala. | Armed white men disrupted church services and warned a minister to leave the county by sundown or he would never be found. |
| Mar. 5, 1965 | Indianola, Miss. | A Freedom School and library burned to the ground |

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| Mar. 9, 1965 | Selma, Ala. | Rev. James Reeb from Boston was fatally clubbed. Two days later four men were arrested. |
| Mar. 21, 1965 | Vicksburg, Miss. | A Molotov cocktail was thrown into a desegregated cafe. |
| Mar. 21, 1965 | Birmingham, Ala. | Four time bombs were discovered in Negro neighborhoods. |
| Mar. 22, 1965 | Birmingham, Ala. | Two more bombs were discovered in the Negro community. |
| Mar. 25, 1965 | Lowndesboro, Ala. | Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker, was shot and killed while driving on the Selma-Montgomery highway. Four Klansmen were charged with violating the civil rights of Mrs. Liuzzo. |
| Mar. 29, 1965 | Meridian, Miss. | Fire bombs were tossed at two Negro churches. |
| Apr. 1, 1965 | Birmingham, Ala. | A dynamite bomb wrecked the home of a Negro accountant, and two other bombs were found at the home of the Mayor and a City Councilwoman. |

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